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3 August 1967

Copy of Memorandum For: Mr. J. P. Walsh  
Executive Secretariat  
Department of State

LBJ LIBRARY  
Mandatory Review  
Case # NLJ 00-134  
Document # 83a

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1. Situation in Jordan: People are in hopeless frame of mind, as they have been since war. Because no one has held out hope for them, they are creating, in desperation, the false hope that by continuing the fight they will see Israel defeated in the end. Logic plays no part in this process, but the man on the street is a creature of emotions always. Growing resistance on West Bank is seen as proof that the battle will go on. The United States Government is totally discredited as a firm ally of Israel. The Soviets enjoy some popularity, but there is growing recognition that Soviet words are much braver than their deeds.

2. Peace in the Area: There are few prospects for peace, and the passage of time makes them even less. The Jordanian people are absolutely unwilling to "face reality" in the western sense, i. e., that they, as losers of the war, must pay some price and make the best deal they can with the victors. The people are not turning against Hussein yet, but they will unless Hussein can change present situation by getting back the West Bank and Jerusalem without signing a peace treaty with Israel. If Hussein were to try to negotiate with Israel for Jordan alone, he would be "absolutely alone, nobody would support him and he would be killed as his grandfather was killed." If Hussein lined up support from other moderates like Morocco, Libya, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, etc., it would do him no good at all; his people would still turn on him. Even were he somehow miraculously to conclude a successful peace with Israel and survive, Nasser and the Syrians would turn on him, topple him, and swallow Jordan. The key to peace is and has been Nasser; if he takes the lead in seeking peace, Jordan could and would go along, and the more radical Arabs would be helpless.



3. USG Position: The time has passed when it would have been easy for the U. S. Government to recoup its prestige with the Arabs by uttering a few proper phrases. The U. S. Government has lost all credibility in the Arab mind, as careful, tightly reasoned statements on technical points, such as why the U. S. Government did not vote for the UN resolution on Jerusalem, are worse than wasted effort -- they are positively harmful because they make the U. S. Government look hypocritical and deceitful. The U. S. Government should make no mistake, it is hated in the Arab world; innate courtesy, apathy from the shock of defeat, and the memory of kindnesses by individual American

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friends lead most educated Jordanians to conceal this hate, but it is there.

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4. Possible Solutions:

[REDACTED] There is a power vacuum in the Near East now, with the big powers discredited and Nasser's stature diminished. The U. S. Government, if it wanted, could fill the vacuum and reverse the train of events, but the price would be high. The U. S. Government would have to make the Israelis leave the conquered territory, using whatever pressures are necessary, from arm-twisting to economic pressure to threat of armed intervention. Israeli arrogance in victory probably will not respond to any but the strongest measures. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] If the U. S. Government coldly calculated the value to its self-interest of tiny Israel against 13 Arab nations, then it would make the right decision. Working quietly through the United Nations would not achieve the same effect. The Arab people must see clearly that the U. S. Government forced Israel to withdraw, while the Soviets, the UN, and everybody else were unable to do so. Then the U. S. Government could have its way with the Arabs: radical governments would fall or could be pushed, negotiations leading to a real peace with Israel would be not only possible, but entirely likely, and a new era could begin. The alternative to a major initiative by the U. S. Government or Nasser is a long period of struggle and suffering. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The Arab people will endure as it always has, while Israel, an unnatural creation, cannot endure. Great powers come and go, [REDACTED] Twenty years ago Britain was great, now she is fading rapidly. So if America and the USSR are against us now, we find consolation in the knowledge that they will go, too. If there is a long period of relative stalemate, of course the Soviets will supplant the U. S. Government as the great power with any influence at all. That is 100% certain, and there is nothing the U. S. Government could do about it short of risking a confrontation, which is not in her self-interest.

5. [REDACTED]

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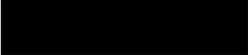
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6. Ambassador Burns has requested that the above views   
 be transmitted to Mr. John Walsh in the Secretariat for  
appropriate distribution.

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